

JOURNAL
OF
WILLIAM LOUGHTON SMITH
1790—1791

EDITED BY
ALBERT MATTHEWS

*This pamphlet is of
interest to the bibliographer
& cataloguer because it
shows (see p 28-) an instance
where exact distinguishing of
persons of same name is
difficult & necessary.*

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THE author of this Journal, now made accessible for the first time,¹ was William Smith of Charleston, South Carolina. His father, Benjamin Smith (1718-1770), was a noted man in his day, having filled many offices in his native province. William was his third son and fifth child by his first wife, Anne Loughton, who died February 29, 1760.² Late in life — apparently in or about 1804³ — Mr. Smith added his mother's

¹ See p. 35, note 3, *infra*.

² For a sketch of the Smith family, see "William Smith and some of his Descendants," by A. S. Salley, Jr., in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* for July, 1903, IV. 239-257, 313.

³ A letter dated August 18, 1800, is signed "W. S.:" *Life of John Pickering*,



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William Smith L.L.D.
Charleston S. Carolina.

surname, and thereafter called himself William Loughton Smith.¹

Early in 1770, at the age of twelve, young Smith was sent by his father, who had himself been educated in England, to Europe for his education, and did not return to this country until November, 1783.² Almost immediately he plunged into public life, and in November, 1788, was elected to Congress from Charleston district, South Carolina. On the ground of eligibility, his election was contested by Dr. David Ramsay,³

177. In a letter dated December 8, 1803, Timothy Pickering refers to "William Smith, Esq." (see p. 27, *infra*). In a letter dated October 18, 1804, Mr. Smith for the first time, so far as I have noted, signed himself "Wm. Loughton Smith." *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, IV. 427.

¹ Mr. Salley says that Mr. Smith had two book-plates, some bearing "the name 'William Smith. L.L.D. Charleston S. Carolina' and some [having] 'W^m Loughton Smith. L.L.D. Charleston S. Carolina.'" The former is here reproduced from a copy on the inside of the cover of *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States, Anno M.DCC,LXXXIX*, . . . New-York, owned by the Connecticut Historical Society. A number of Mr. Smith's letters are in the Pickering Papers, in this Society.

Three portraits of Mr. Smith are in existence. Mr. Salley says that "Gilbert Stuart painted a portrait of him, and Sartain is said to have made an engraving from it." Sartain's engraving is from Stuart's portrait of the Rev. Dr. William Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, painted in 1800, and engraved in 1880 for the second volume of H. W. Smith's *Life and Correspondence of William Smith, D.D.* Col. John Trumbull painted two portraits of our Mr. Smith: one, painted in 1792, is owned by Yale University; the other was in 1892 owned by Dr. G. E. Manigault of Charleston. The third portrait, though not listed in G. C. Mason's *Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart*, was painted by Stuart in or before 1796 and is now owned by the Carolina Art Association of Charleston. All three portraits are reproduced in *History of the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of George Washington as First President of the United States* (Bowen, 1892), 102.

Stuart's portrait was engraved by Edward Savage, the legend reading: "G. Stuart Pinx! — E: Savage Sculp! William Smith of South Carolina, L.L.D. Member of the Congress of the United States. Pub: March 11th 1796 by E Savage Philad^a" Mr. C. H. Hart, from whose article (2 *Proceedings*, XIX. 16) I quote, says that "A state of this plate is without 'L.L.D.' and address." Obviously the "L.L.D." could not have been added until after September 28, 1796.

It is perhaps worth adding that in 1792 the city of Charleston instructed Mr. Smith to employ Trumbull to paint a portrait of Washington: see Trumbull's *Autobiography*, 166-167.

² In 1774 he went from London to Geneva, and is several times mentioned by Henry Laurens in letters to his son John, who was also at Geneva. *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, III. 215; IV. 30, 32, 100, 216.

³ Dr. Ramsay published two pamphlets. One, evidently published in the spring of 1789, is entitled: *A Dissertation on the Manner of acquiring the Character and Privileges of a Citizen of the United States*. Printed in the Year MDCCLXXXIX. It contains no allusion to himself, to Mr. Smith, or to the election. The other, the prefatory note to which is dated "New-York, Sept. 17,

and to this fact is due the following interesting autobiographical sketch, extracted from a speech made in the House of Representatives on May 22, 1789:

As the House are inclined to hear the observations I have to make I shall begin with admitting the facts stated in the memorial of Doctor Ramsay, hoping the House will excuse the egotism into which I am unavoidably drawn. I was born in Charleston, South Carolina, of a family whose ancestors were among the first settlers of that colony, and was sent to England for my education when I was but twelve years of age. In 1774, I was sent to Geneva, to pursue my studies, where I resided till 1778. In November, that year, I went to Paris, where I resided upwards of two months in the character of an American gentleman. Immediately on my arrival there, I waited on Doctor Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. A. Lee, the commissioners from Congress to the Court of France, as a citizen of America, and was received as such by them. In January, 1779, I left Paris for London, whither I went to procure the means of embarking for America, from the gentleman who had been appointed my guardian by my father when I was first sent to Europe in 1770, and from whom alone I had any hope of obtaining such means. But in this endeavor, I was disappointed, and remained some time in England, with the hope of receiving remittances from Charleston. Here again my expectation was defeated. The rapid depreciation of the Continental money rendered the negotiation of money transactions extremely difficult, and thus I remained till the fall of Charleston. I took this opportunity of studying the law,¹ but could not be called to the bar, because I had not taken the oath of allegiance to Great Britain, which is a necessary qualification. After the surrender of Charleston, the whole State of South Carolina, fell into the hands of the enemy, and it was impossible at that

1789," is entitled: *Observations on the Decision of the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 22d Day of May, 1789; Respecting the Eligibility of the Hon. William Smith, of South-Carolina, to a Seat in that House.* By David Ramsay, M.D. New-York: Printed by Hodge, Allen, and Campbell. M. DCC. LXXXIX. This contains many references to Mr. Smith. Allusions to this contested election will be found in Jefferson's *Writings* (Ford), ix. 53 n., in Madison's *Writings* (Hunt), v. 366, and in Hildreth's *History of the United States*, iv. 45. In a letter (owned by this Society) to the Rev. John Eliot, dated December 27, 1790, Dr. Ramsay stated that he had sent Eliot copies of his two pamphlets, and said: "I still think Congress, or rather the house of representatives, violated the constitution in admitting Mr. Smith's claim to citizenship while he was in Europe."

¹ In the list of admissions to the Inner Temple occurs the name of "William Smith, South Carolina, 1774." C. Meriwether, *History of Higher Education in South Carolina* (1889), 26.

time to return. No sooner, however, did I acquire the means, and an opportunity offered, than I prepared myself to go back to America. I quitted London for that purpose in October or November, 1782, not in a vessel bound to Charleston, then a British garrison, and which I certainly should have done, had I considered myself a British subject, and which would have been most convenient, as there were vessels constantly going from London to Charleston; but I travelled to Ostend, and there embarked in a neutral vessel bound to St. Kitt's, from whence it was my intention to proceed to a Danish island, and thence to some American port in North Carolina or Georgia, from whence I could reach the American camp. In the beginning of January, 1783, I sailed from Ostend, but was detained a considerable time by contrary winds, and in the middle of the month of February, was shipwrecked on the coast of England, and was obliged to return to London in order to procure another passage. These circumstances unavoidably prevented my return to Charleston, until some time in November, 1783.

On my arrival at Charleston, I was received by my countrymen as a citizen of the State of South Carolina, and elected by their free suffrage a member of the Legislature in November, 1784. In the August following, I was chosen, by the Governor and Council, a member of the Privy Council, and this election was confirmed by the Legislature in the October following. In September, the same year, I was elected one of the Wardens of the City of Charleston. In November, 1786, I was again elected into the Legislature; again in November, 1788; I was elected at the same time that I was elected to the House of Representatives of the United States, the September preceding having been chosen again a Warden of the city.¹

From the beginning Mr. Smith took an active part in the debates and soon became one of the leading Federalists. In

¹ Mr. Smith took his seat April 13, 1789. On April 15 Dr. Ramsay's petition was presented, on April 18 Mr. Clymer's report was read, the report was considered on April 18, 29, May 12, 21, and 22, when Mr. Smith was seated by a vote of 36 to 1. *Annals of Congress* under the above dates, pp. 121, 143, 168, 231, 329, 397-408. On May 12 Mr. Clymer reported, "That Mr. Smith appeared before them, and admitted that he had subscribed, and had caused to be printed in the State Gazette of South Carolina, of the twenty-fourth of November last, the publication which accompanies this report, and to which the petitioner doth refer as proof of the facts stated in his petition; that Mr. Smith also admitted that his father departed this life in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy, about five months after he sent him to Great Britain; that his mother departed this life about the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty; and that he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court in South Carolina in the month of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four." Mr. Smith's father died at Newport, R. I., July 28, 1770.

1792 his first pamphlet, an attack on Jefferson, appeared, and during the next four years he published half a dozen other pamphlets, after which only one (in 1806) came from his pen.¹ Though he represented Charleston district continuously from 1789 to July, 1797, there was at least one time when he thought of withdrawing. Writing to Madison July 3, 1792, Jefferson said:

Smith of S. C. declines [offering himself at the next election] also. He has bought a fine house in Charleston for £5000 and had determined not even to come to the next session. But his friends it is said have made him promise to come. One gentleman from S. Carolina says he could not be re-elected. Another says there could be no doubt of his re-election. Commodore Gillon is talked of as his successor. Izard² gives it out that it is all false that Mr. Smith is so rich as has been represented, that he is in fact poor, cannot afford to live here, & therefore has retired to Charleston. Some add that he has entered again at the bar. The truth seems to be that they are alarmed, & he driven out of the field, by the story of the more modern Colchis. His furniture is gone off from hence [Philadelphia].³

On October 10, in a different strain, Hamilton wrote to C. C. Pinckney:

Some valuable characters are about to be lost to the House of Representatives. I feared once that this would be the case with Mr. Smith, of your State, but I believe his present intention is rather to continue to serve. I trust there can be no doubt of his success, and I wish means to be used to determine his acquiescence. He is truly an excellent member — a ready, clear speaker, of a sound analytic head, and the justest views. I know of no man whose loss would be more severely felt by the good cause.⁴

Two years later, Mr. Smith and Fisher Ames suffered the good old punishment of being burned in effigy. "It is reported," wrote Ames on March 5, 1794, "that William Smith and your humble servant have been burned in effigy in Charleston, South Carolina. The fire, you know, is pleasant, when it is not too near; and I am willing to have it believed, that, as I come out

¹ See the bibliography, pp. 76-88, *infra*.

² Ralph Izard, Mr. Smith's father-in-law.

³ *Writings* (Ford), vi. 97-98.

⁴ *Works* (Lodge), viii. 287.

of the fire undiminished in weight, I am now all gold. I laugh, as you will suppose, at the rage of the burners."¹ And in a letter to Jefferson on March 26, Madison said: "The people of Charleston are taking a high tone. Their memorial, which is signed by Ramsay, the Gadzdens, Young Rutledge and a very great number of respectable Citizens, marks the deliberate sense of her people. The more violent has been expressed by hanging and burning the effigies of Smith Ames Arnold, Dumouriez & the Devil, *en groupe*."² On November 16 Madison again wrote: "In S. C., Smith has been carried by the British merchants in Charleston, and their debtors in the country, in spite of the Rutledges and Pinckney, who set up against him John Rutledge, Jr. Tucker was also a candidate. Smith had a majority of all the votes."³

When Washington was reorganizing his Cabinet in 1795, he wrote (October 29) to Hamilton: "Mr. Smith of South Carolina, some time ago, would have had no objection to filling a respectable office under the General Government, but what his views might lead to, or his abilities particularly fit him for, I am an incompetent judge; and besides, on the ground of popularity, his pretensions would, I fear, be small."⁴ On November 5, Hamilton replied as follows:

But for a Secretary of State, I know not what to say. *Smith*, though not of full size, is very respectable for talents, and has pretty various information. I think he has more *real talent* than the last incumbent of the office.⁵ But there are strong objections to his appointment. I fear he is of an uncomfortable temperament. He is popular with no description of men, from a certain *hardness* of character; and he, more than most other men, is considered as tinctured with prejudices towards the British. In this particular his ground is somewhat peculiar. It may suit party views to say of other men, but more in this respect is *believed* with regard to Smith. I speak merely as to *bias* and *prejudice*. There are things, and important things, for which I would recommend Smith — thinking well of his abilities, information, industry, and integrity; but, at the present juncture, I believe his appointment to the office in question would be inadvisable. Besides, it is very important that he should not now be removed from the House of Representatives.⁶

¹ *Works* (S. Ames), I. 138.

² *Writings* (Hunt), VI. 211.

³ *Letters and other Writings* (1865), II. 19.

⁴ *Writings* (Ford), XIII. 131.

⁵ Edmund Randolph.

⁶ *Works*, (Lodge), VIII. 368.

On July 2, 1796, the Cabinet advised sending a new Minister to France, and among those suggested for the office was Mr. Smith; but with respect to him, Washington wrote to Pickering on July 8 that, "although it would be a very agreeable choice to me, I am sure it would not conceter those opinions, which policy would require."¹

A year later, however, on July 6, 1797, President Adams nominated "William Smith, of Charleston, South Carolina, to be Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at the Court of Portugal, vice John Quincy Adams, removed to the Court of Berlin;" the nomination was confirmed by the Senate on the 10th.² Mr. Smith of course resigned his seat, and a week later issued the following address to his constituents:

TO THE ELECTORS OF CHARLESTON DISTRICT.

PHILADELPHIA, July 18, 1797.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

After having for upwards of eight years, had the honor of serving you in Congress, I cannot announce to you the vacancy of my seat, by the acceptance of an executive office, without expressing at the same time, my warmest thanks for the repeated proofs I have experienced of your kindness and partiality. When my conduct was misrepresented or misunderstood, you more than once generously interposed your candor to shield me from political degradation, and by your indulgent forbearance, afforded me the opportunity of establishing the rectitude of my conduct.

For these marked testimonies of your attachment, and for the very distinguished honor of being five times elected your representative in the national councils, I feel the most lively emotion of gratitude and affection.

In whatever clime my duty may call me, in whatever station my service may be required, I shall not cease to preserve those sentiments unimpaired, nor to pray for your happiness and the prosperity of a district, to which I shall ever continue strongly attached by the powerful ties of birth and gratitude.

I am, my fellow citizens, very respectfully your obedient Servant,
WILLIAM SMITH.³

¹ *Writings*, XIII. 236.

² *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate* (1828), I. 248, 249. The appointment was noted in the *City Gazette* (Charleston) of July 26, 1797. In his *Anas*, Jefferson wrote: "July, 1797. Murray is rewarded for his services by an appointment to Amsterdam; W. Smith of Charleston, to Lisbon" (*Writings*, I. 273).

³ *City Gazette* (Charleston), August 3, 1797. For this extract I am indebted to Miss Mabel L. Webber of the South Carolina Historical Society.

On the day when that address was issued¹ Mr. Smith sailed from Philadelphia accompanied as his secretary by Timothy Pickering's son John, then a youth who had graduated from Harvard College only the year before.² On February 8, 1799, President Adams nominated "William Smith, our Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Portugal, to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Sublime Ottoman Porte, with full powers to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce between the United States of America and the dominions and dependencies of the Sublime Porte;" the nomination was confirmed by the Senate on the 11th,³ but the mission was never sent.⁴ Mr. Smith remained in Portugal from 1797 to 1801, though from March 2 to June 18, 1798, he was absent on a visit to Spain.⁵ On September 9, 1801, he was superseded as Minister to Portugal;⁶ early in October of that year he reached England;⁷ for another two years he appears to have remained in Europe; and our last glimpse of him is in a letter from Timothy Pickering to his son John dated Washington, December 8, 1803:

Yesterday your friend William Smith, Esq., was to set off for Philadelphia, where he will embark for Charleston. He has visited Holland, France (I believe some parts of Germany and Switzerland), and Italy. He was present at Tangier when our little squadron was drawn up before it, and peace restored with the Emperor, whom he saw. He returned to the United States in the frigate which brought the news and the act of the Emperor declaring the Treaty

¹ In a letter dated Philadelphia, July 8, 1797, John Pickering said: "In about two weeks I embark for Europe. I go with Mr. William Smith, of Charleston, S. C., who is to be Minister Plenipotentiary at Lisbon." *Life of John Pickering*, 94. The *Minerva* (New York) of Monday, July 24, 1797, said: "Philadelphia, July 22. Tuesday last sailed for Lisbon, the ship *Dominick Terry*, capt. Dehart, in which went passenger Wm. Smith, Esq. minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the court of Portugal." In the *Philadelphia Gazette* of July 18 is noted, "Cleared, Ship *Dominick Terry*, De Hart. Lisbon."

² There is much about Mr. Smith in Mary O. Pickering's *Life of John Pickering* (1887), especially between pp. 94-219.

³ *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate* (1828), I. 311, 312.

⁴ See *Life of John Pickering*, 138-139, 143, 145, 146, 156, 160.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 110, 121.

⁶ *Register of the Department of State* (1871), 68. My reason for being so precise in regard to these appointments is because erroneous statements have been made about them. He was Minister to Portugal, not Chargé d'affaires, and he was never Minister to Spain.

⁷ *Life of John Pickering*, 205.

made by the United States with his father in 1786. He desired me to present to you his very affectionate remembrance. He inquired with much interest of your situation and prospects at the Bar. He told me that he believed he should himself resume the practice of the law.¹

Mr. Smith did not again enter public life, and died at Charleston in December, 1812. He was twice married: first, on May 1, 1786, to Charlotte Izard, daughter of Ralph Izard (1742-1804) and Alice (DeLancey) Izard, who died January 8, 1792;² and second, on December 19, 1805, to Charlotte Wragg. By his first wife he had Thomas Loughton Smith (who graduated at Princeton in 1807) and Anne Caroline Smith (who married May 22, 1820, Peter Pederson, Danish Minister to the United States); and by his second wife he had William Wragg Smith, who died unmarried, and Elizabeth Smith, who married Major Thomas Osborn Lowndes.³

✓ Mr. Smith's career presents two puzzling problems — one biographical, the other bibliographical. They are due partly to the fact that late in life he changed his name, and partly to the fact that there was another William Smith who, though born in North Carolina in 1762, early removed to South Carolina, and who, by a singular coincidence, was in November, 1796, elected to Congress from Pinckney district in the latter State. This William Smith wrote little, and apparently nothing until about 1830, did not become prominent in politics until after our Mr. Smith had retired from public life, and did

¹ *Life of John Pickering*, 219.

² For an account of the Izard family, see the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, II. 205-240. In 1844 Mrs. Anne Izard Deas, who was a younger daughter of Ralph Izard, published the *Correspondence of Mr. Ralph Izard*. In a prefatory note she said (p. x) that "The last volume is chiefly composed of letters from his son-in-law — Mr. William Smith;" but only one volume was ever published, and I do not know where Mr. Smith's letters are.

³ Mr. Smith was a correspondent of several of his more distinguished contemporaries, and is occasionally mentioned by them in their writings. Letters by him are printed in *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, II. 65-66, 164-167, IV. 427; *Hamilton's Works* (J. C. Hamilton), VI. 241-243; *Life of John Pickering*, 117-119, 155-156, 159, 176-177. Letters to him are printed in *Hamilton's Works* (Lodge), VIII. 382, 439, 442, 459, 461, 544. The more important references to him are given in the text or footnotes of this paper. Allusions to him will also be found in Hildreth's *History of the United States*, and in J. S. Bassett's *Federalist System*.

not die until 1840. Nevertheless the two William Smiths have been hopelessly confused alike by biographers¹ and by bibliographers;² and by a singular fatality the honorary degree of LL.D. conferred on our Mr. Smith by the College of New Jersey in 1796 has for sixty years been attributed to the other William Smith in the catalogues of Princeton University.³

¹ Two examples will suffice. The 1876 edition of C. Lanman's *Biographical Annals of the Civil Government of the United States* contains two notices of our Mr. Smith — one (p. 394) under William Smith, the other (p. 395) under William Loughton Smith. In the 1913 edition of the *Biographical Congressional Directory* it is stated (p. 45) that "William Smith, Pinckney district," "Resigned July 10, 1797, having been appointed Minister to Portugal" — whereas it was the other William Smith who resigned and received the appointment. It may well be doubted whether a notice of either William Smith has yet appeared which is wholly free from mistakes. In his sketch of Judge William Smith (1762-1840) O'Neill says that "In the Roll of Attorneys admitted at Charleston, Wm. Smith is put down as admitted 6th January, 1784" (*Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina*, I. 106-120), but this was our Mr. Smith, not Judge Smith.

² For a bibliography of Mr. Smith's writings, see pp. 76-88, *infra*.

³ In the latest *General Catalogue of Princeton University* (1908, p. 404), the entry reads as follows:

"1796 William Smith, LL.D.

*1840

"Member South Carolina Assembly 1823-1826; Member South Carolina Senate 1806-08; President South Carolina Senate 1808; Judge South Carolina Circuit Court 1808; U. S. Representative from South Carolina 1797-99; U. S. Senator from South Carolina 1815-23, 1826-31; Member Alabama Assembly 1835-39; A. B. Mt. Zion 1780."

This is an admirable summary of the positions held by Judge William Smith (1762-1840), except only in the matter of the honorary degree. It will be worth while to trace the origin of this error. That our William Smith received the honorary degree of LL.D. is made certain by his book-plates (see p. 21, note 1, *supra*), but Mr. Salley remarks that "We are not informed as to what institution conferred the degree of LL.D. upon him." The title-page of his *Oration* on July 4, 1796, states that it was "By William Smith, a member of the Revolution Society, and Representative in the Congress of the United States." The title-page of his *Comparative View*, the dedication to which is dated October 2, 1796, states that it was "By William Smith, of South-Carolina, L.L.D. and Member of the Congress of the United States" (see pp. 80, 81, *infra*). Hence the degree was conferred at some time between July 4 and October 2, 1796. To Professor V. Lansing Collins I am indebted for the following transcript of the record in the Manuscript Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the College of New Jersey for September 28, 1796:

"Resolved that the degree of Doctor of Laws be conferred on the Honb^{le} William Smith of South Carolina and the Honb^l Fisher Ames of Massachusetts."

This, it will be observed, is ambiguous, since it might apply to either of the two William Smiths. Not so, however, with the next extract, taken from the *Minerva* (New York) of October 1, 1796:

Finally, it is necessary to remove another misapprehension, though this relates not to Mr. Smith but to Washington. That

"PRINCETON, September 28

"This day being the anniversary of the commencement in the college of New Jersey, the board of trustees and the faculty of the college met, the senior class at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, in the public hall, from whence they went in procession to the church. . . .

"The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on the Hon. William Smith, member of congress for South Carolina, and on the Hon. Fisher Ames, member of congress from the state of Massachusetts."

As our William Smith was the only one of the name who was then a Member of Congress from South Carolina, it follows that the degree was conferred upon him. The entry has stood as follows in the successive editions of the *Catalogus Collegii Neo-Casariensis*, etc., the entry being given only when it differs from the entry in the previous edition:

- 1800 Gulielmus Smith, Arm. e Cong. Leg. ap. Lis. LL.D.
- 1804 Gulielmus Smith, Arm. Leg. ap. Lis. LL.D.
- 1815 Gulielmus Smith, Leg. ap. Lis. LL.D.
- 1821 Gulielmus Smith, LL.D.
- 1824 *Gulielmus Smith, LL.D.
- 1857 *Gulielmus Smith, LL.D., in Cong. Rerumpub. Fœd. Sen. *1840.
- 1896 *William Smith, LL.D., U. S. Sen. *1840.

It will be observed that in all the catalogues from 1800 to 1818, both included, Mr. Smith is unmistakably identified as the William Smith who was Minister at Lisbon, and that news of his death did not reach the Princeton authorities until 1824. Dates of death were first given in the edition of 1854, edited by G. Musgrave Giger, but no date was attached to the name of Mr. Smith. "In Professor Giger's interleaved copy of the 1854 edition," Professor Collins writes me, "containing his autograph notes, he has entered opposite William Smith: 'Wm. Smith, U. S. Sen. So. Ca., 1816-23, 1826-31. *Huntsville, Ala., July 26, 1840-?' Giger evidently satisfied his doubts, for the 1857 edition contains the full erroneous entry with date; and so it has remained, somewhat amplified however in the 1906 edition." Professor Collins assures me that the mistake will be rectified in the next edition.

The *City Gazette* (Charleston) of June 24, 1797, contained this notice: "William Smith, the representative of Charleston district in Congress, is now in some of the minutes of that body styled *Dr. Smith*, in consequence we believe, of his having sometime since received the diploma of *doctor of laws*, and in order to distinguish him from William Smith of Pinckney district." The same paper of July 12 spoke of "D^r Smith's resolution," etc. Miss Webber has furnished me with these extracts. A satirical epigram of the period contains the line, "Hear learned Dr. Smith, how he splutters:" see McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, II. 330 n.

Pinckney district comprised the then counties of Union, Spartan, York, and Chester: see *Letters on the Questions of the Justice and Expediency of going into Alterations of the Representation in the Legislature of South-Carolina, as fixed by the Constitution. Published, originally, in Numbers, in the City Gazette.* By Phocion. Charleston: Printed by Markland & M'Iver, No. 47, Bay. MDCCXCV, p. 33. Miss Webber tells me that the copy of this pamphlet owned by Mr. Smith has written in his hand under "Phocion" the name "Henry William De Saussure." See also D. W. Ar. Schaper's "Sectionalism and Representation in South Caro-

Washington accompanied Mr. Smith to Vermont and that the visit was of great political importance, has recently been asserted. In her *Hoosac Valley*, published in 1912, Miss Grace Greylock Niles says that "President Washington and Congressman William Smith on August 30, 1790, visited Gov. Moses Robinson and Isaac Tichenor at Bennington Centre, in order to hasten Vermont's admittance to the Union. At that time Washington was aware of the influence of Ethan and Ira Allen's diplomacy in bringing about the cessation of hostilities of the British on the Vermont-Canadian borders. On January 6, 1791, following Washington's Bennington visit, the vote of Vermont's officers proved to be 105 yeas to 3 nays for a final application for the State's admittance to the Union." And again:

President George Washington and Congressman Smith, on August 30, 1790, mounted on horseback, rode from New Lebanon Springs, N. Y., to Bennington Centre to consult with Gov. Moses Robinson about Vermont's final admittance to the Federal Union. . . . Congressman Smith in a letter published a century later in the *New York Evening Post* described their romantic ride beneath the "Weeping Rocks," overhanging the Hoosac River in the Pownal intervalle of Vermont. . . . The President's party was welcomed at Councillor Isaac Tichenor's mansion at Bennington Centre on Mount Anthony Road, west of the Walloomsac Inn, and their host later conducted them to Governor Robinson's home. . . . On September 7th, the Presidential party left New Lebanon Springs in a springless wagon, bound for Albany by way of Kinderhook Road, . . . and on Thursday, September 9th, set sail on an Albany sloop for New York, although, owing to contrary winds and tides, they did not reach that City until six days later.¹

lina," in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1900, I. 374, 417, 461, where Pinckney district is shown on a map between pp. 378-379. Mr. Salley writes me as follows:

"I notice that you refer to 'the Pinckney district,' the home of the other William Smith, who was in Congress at the same time as our William Smith. At that time the judicial and executive unit of the State was the district and so remained until 1868, when the name was changed to county and the legislative unit made to conform. Pinckney District was one of the nine districts of the State. We did not have nine members of the House of Congress, so that in about two cases congressional districts were composed of two of the local units. When the State was redistricted in 1798 Pinckney District was dismembered. Union District, carved therefrom, was the home of William Smith."

¹ *Hoosac Valley*, 376-377, 432-434. An illustration on p. 439 is labelled: "Pownal Village in the Hoosac Pass of the Taconac Mountains. The picturesque

Some scepticism having been aroused as to this alleged visit to Vermont by Washington, two years later, in an article headed "President Washington's journey through Hoosac Valley described — in a letter written by Congressman Smith in 1790," Miss Niles wrote:

Nearly every colonial tavern of Revolutionary fame, that received man or beast, claims the honor of having entertained Gen. George Washington. Little if anything, however, is known today of President Washington's ride from Columbian Hall, New Lebanon Springs, N. Y., to Dewey's Tavern, Bennington Centre, during August 1790. He was accompanied by Congressman William Smith, of South Carolina. As to why the journey should have remained a secret — now nearly one hundred and twenty-five years, perhaps none of this generation will ever satisfactorily know.

The only record, which exists relating to President Washington's ride to Bennington was discovered in a note attached to a letter of Congressman Smith's, addressed to his friends at home, in 1790. The letter was found among Mr. Smith's papers after his death and published a century after it was penned, in the *New York Evening Post*. The letter was subsequently re-printed in the semi-weekly edition of *The Troy Times*, April 11, 1905.

It is evident that President Washington's and Congressman Smith's ride to Bennington, related to some advice rendered to Gov. Moses Robinson, about the final measures required for Vermont's admittance to the Union. Certainly the visit to Bennington was not made purely for pleasure. The presidential party arrived at Councillor Isaac Tichenor's old mansion, on Mount Anthony road, west of the Walloomsac Inn, during the afternoon, Monday, August 30, 1790; Mr. Smith says, that he was conducted to Gov. Robinson's home, and later his party drank tea with Mr. Tichenor. They remained over night, either at Mr. Tichenor's home, or at Col. Dewey's Tavern — a large and good tavern, at that time. Tuesday morning they arose before sunrise, and returned to Lebanon Springs for dinner. Had the ride to Bennington been taken for pleasure, it is evident that they would have visited the site of the famous battlefield of the Benningtonians.

Lastly, under the heading "Reason for Trip," Miss Niles says:

It is safe to say, that the Presidential party's ride to Bennington, in 1790, was made in order to hasten Vermont's admittance to the interval was beheld by President George Washington and Congressman William Smith during their horseback ride to Bennington Centre, August 30, 1790."

Union. At that time it proved unwise to publish the President's and Congressman's visit, with Councillor Tichenor and Gov. Robinson. It might have involved objections of the leading officials of Congress from New York, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Vermont officers. Mr. Smith appears to have been the spokesman of the President's party, and headed the official visit on Gov. Robinson. In truth, the President's party departed before sunrise the following morning, and to this day, President Washington's and Congressman Smith's visit to Bennington is questioned by older residents of the town.¹

On my writing to Miss Niles asking her authority for the statement that Washington accompanied Mr. Smith, she courteously replied (March 13, 1917) as follows:

In answer to your inquiry about President Washington's visit to Bennington, I refer you to an article published by myself, in the *North Adams Transcript*, North Adams, Mass., Saturday, March 28, 1914, in which I cited extracts from Congressman William Smith's *Notes*. These Notes were found, according to a postscript, published on the *original script Notes* a century later about 1890, and printed later in *The Evening Post*. On the original Notes, as I understand it, in Mr. Smith's handwriting, he had penned the fact, that his journey to Lebanon Springs, over the Williamstown hill, to Bennington *was made with President Washington*, and a Mr. Izzard, and others. . . . The letter *first* published in *The Evening Post*, was later reprinted in *The Troy Semi-weekly Times*. I have this copy, but it is in storage, and I cannot now refer to it. I have had several inquiries about this visit to Bennington and can only refer you to Mr. William Smith's *postscript* added to his *Notes* kept on that *journey in 1790*. For this reason, in answer to inquirers, I prepared a short paper, citing the *Notes* of Mr. Smith, in the *North Adams Transcript*, to which I refer you. It was undoubtedly a *secret* journey on the part of Gen. Washington, made for the purpose of promoting Vermont's admittance to the Union. He was undoubtedly disguised.

It is evident from each of her accounts that Miss Niles had never seen Mr. Smith's Journal as printed in the *New York*

¹ *North Adams Transcript*, March 28, 1914, p. 2. For these extracts I am indebted to Miss Mabel Temple, librarian of the North Adams Public Library, which owns a file of the paper. Miss Temple writes that "Miss Niles prints quotations from Mr. Smith's letter, but the greater part is taken up with a description of his visit to the Shakers . . . It is difficult, without having Mr. Smith's account, to tell where his remarks leave off and her remarks begin."

Evening Post in 1888, but had relied on that portion of the Journal which was reprinted in *The Troy Times*, semi-weekly edition, of April 11, 1905. An examination of that issue shows that that portion was the third instalment of Mr. Smith's Journal,¹ which was reprinted (according to one of the present editors of the paper) "because of its local interest." The article is headed "A Hundred Years Ago," and appended is the following note, printed in small type:

(From a letter written by William Smith, Congressman from South Carolina, in August 1790, and describing a journey with President George Washington. The letter was found in Mr. Smith's papers a century later and was published in the *New York Evening Post*.)²

Here, then, is the origin of Miss Niles' error in regard to Washington. The above note, which she mistakenly thought was written by Mr. Smith, was of course compiled in the office of *The Troy Times*.

The facts about Washington's movements in August-September, 1790, are as follows. On August 15 he left New York; reached Newport August 17, leaving there August 18; reached Providence August 18, leaving there August 19; reached New York August 21,³ presumably remaining there until August 30; left New York August 30⁴ — the very day when, according to Miss Niles, he was riding from New Lebanon to Bennington; reached Philadelphia September 2,⁵ leaving there September 6;⁶ reached Baltimore September 8, leaving there September 10;⁷ reached Bladensburg September 10, leaving there Sep-

¹ See pp. 48-57, *infra*.

² *The Troy Times*, Semi-weekly edition, April 11, 1905, p. 2. For this extract and for information about the article in *The Troy Times* I am indebted to Miss Mary L. Davis, librarian of the Troy Public Library, who kindly consulted a file of the paper at the publication office.

³ See pp. 36-39, *infra*.

⁴ "Yesterday morning the President of the United States, and his family, left this city." *New York Daily Gazette*, August 31, 1790.

⁵ "Philadelphia, September 2. This day about 2 o'clock arrived in town from New-York, the President of the United States — his Lady, and their suite." *New York Daily Gazette*, September 6.

⁶ "Philadelphia, September 6. This morning the President proceeded on his journey to his Seat in Virginia." *New York Daily Gazette*, September 9.

⁷ "Baltimore, September 10. On Wednesday last [September 8], at 6 o'clock in the afternoon, the President of the United States, and his Lady, attended by their suite, arrived here from Philadelphia, on their way to Mount-Vernon. . . .

tember 11; reached Georgetown September 11,¹ and Mount Vernon the same day.²

JOURNAL³

I

NEW ENGLAND, AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1790

AUGUST, 1790.⁴

Being at New York, as a member of the House of Representatives in Congress, which adjourned on the 12th of August and having some leisure, I resolved to make a tour into the back parts of the State of New York, and into some parts of Massachusetts and Connecticut. The day after we adjourned, viz., Friday, the 13th, the President of the United States, General Washington, who had on that morning resolved to pay a visit to the State of Rhode Island in consequence of its accession to the Union,⁵ did me the honor to invite me to be of his party; I could not decline so acceptable an

This morning, at 6 o'clock, the President, his Lady and suite, set out on their journey." *New York Daily Gazette*, September 17.

¹ "George-Town, Sept. 15. Last Saturday [September 11] about eight o'clock in the morning, arrived here from Bladensburg, where they lodged the preceding night, the President of the United States." *New York Daily Gazette*, September 22.

² See W. S. Baker, *Washington after the Revolution, 1784-1799* (1898), 190-197.

³ The Journal has twice been printed: first in the *New York Evening Post* of April 14, 21, 28, May 5, June 2, 1888; and again in the semi-weekly edition of the *Post* of April 20, 24, May 1, 11, June 5, 1888.

⁴ This instalment, under the heading "One Hundred Years Ago. First Paper," was printed in the *New York Evening Post* of April 14, 1888, where it is preceded by the following statement: "During the years from 1790 to 1797 William Smith of South Carolina was a member of the Congresses of the United States from the First to the Fifth, resigning in 1797 to accept the post of Minister to Portugal. He was a man of excellent education, and a close observer of the manners and customs of the people. In his travels to and from Congress he was accustomed to keep a record of the events of the day, and the following was found among his papers some time ago, and is here published for the first time. The original orthography is followed closely." The original manuscript is not owned by either the New York Historical Society or the South Carolina Historical Society; Mr. John P. Gavit, managing editor of the *Post*, kindly informs me that "there is nothing in our office records to indicate the source of the papers from the diary of William Smith, published in the *Evening Post* in 1888;" and I have been unable to locate the original.

As for the "original orthography" which, we are told, has been "closely followed," either Mr. Smith made quite natural mistakes in the names of certain persons and places, or else the copyist was unable to decipher correctly Mr. Smith's writing. In a few cases, changes have silently been made.

⁵ When Washington made his tour of New England in the autumn of 1789, he purposely avoided Rhode Island, which did not ratify the Constitution until May 29, 1790.

invitation, and accordingly sat off with his company on Sunday morning, the 15th, on board a Rhode Island packet.¹ We arrived at Newport Tuesday morning, after an agreeable passage. As we entered the harbour, a salute was fired from the fort and some pieces on the wharves; at our landing we were received by the principal inhabitants of the town, and the clergy, who, forming a procession, escorted us through a considerable concourse of citizens to the lodgings which had been prepared for us; the most respectable inhabitants were there severally presented to the President by Mr. Merchant,² Judge of the District Court.

The President then took a walk around the town and the heights above it, accompanied by the gentlemen of the party and a large number of gentlemen of Newport. We returned to our lodgings, and at four o'clock the gentlemen waited again on the President, and we all marched in procession to the Town Hall or State House, where, while dinner was serving up, a number of gentlemen were presented. The dinner was well dished, and conducted with great regularity and decency; the company consisted of about eighty persons; after dinner some good toasts were drank; among others, following: "May the last be first," in allusion to Rhode Island being the last State which ratified the Constitution. The President gave the "Town of Newport," and as soon as he withdrew, Judge Merchant gave "The man we love," which the company drank standing. The company then followed the President in another walk which he took around the Town: He passed by Judge Merchant's and drank a glass of wine, and then went to his lodgings, which closed the business of the day. I slept in the room with Governor Clinton.

¹ From contemporary newspapers it appears that this was the packet *Hancock*, Capt. Brown.

² Henry Marchant (1741-1796): see G. C. Mason, *Annals of Trinity Church*, Newport (1890), 132 n.

In the itinerary prefixed to the fifth volume (p. xxv) of Mr. Paul Leicester Ford's edition of Jefferson's *Writings*, August 13, is given as the date of Jefferson's departure from New York. The *Independent Chronicle* of August 26 (p. 3/2) said that "On Saturday, 14th inst. the PRESIDENT of the United States sailed from New-York." The date (August 15) given by Mr. Smith is confirmed by this item in the *New York Daily Gazette* of August 18: "On Sunday embarked on board one of the Packets, on a visit to Rhode Island, his Excellency the PRESIDENT of the United States," etc. An item dated New York, August 12, printed in the *Columbian Centinel* of August 18, stated that "The PRESIDENT proposes a visit to the State of Rhode-Island." Washington's party consisted of Jefferson, Governor George Clinton (1739-1812) of New York, Judge John Blair (1732-1800) of the United States Supreme Court, Senator Theodore Foster (1752-1828) of Rhode Island, Congressman Nicholas Gilman (1755-1814) of New Hampshire, Col. David Humphreys (1752-1818), Maj. William Jackson (1759-1812), Thomas Nelson (his secretary), and Mr. Smith: see *Columbian Centinel*, August 25.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

This bibliography is based on the pamphlets owned by the following four libraries: Boston Athenæum, Boston Public Library, Harvard College Library, Massachusetts Historical Society. Two of the pamphlets here listed — Nos. 5 and 18 — are not in those libraries, and their titles have been obtained from other sources. The authorship of three pamphlets — Nos. 9, 13, and 14 — is uncertain, but they are included for convenience. Chronological and alphabetical lists of the pamphlets follow, after which the pamphlets will be discussed chronologically.

- 1 1792 Politicks and Views.
 2 1794 Jan. Speeches, Philadelphia.
 3 1794 Jan. Friendship with Great Britain, Edinburgh reprint of No. 2.
 4 1794 Jan. Speeches, Edinburgh reprint of No. 2.
 5 1794 Jan. Speeches, London reprint of No. 2.
 6 1794 May 1. Address, Philadelphia.
 7 1794 May 1. Address, London reprint of No. 6.
 8 1794 Dec. Speech.
 9 1795 Candid Examination, New York.
 10 1796 July 4. Oration, Charleston.
 11 1796 July 4. Oration, second edition, Charleston.
 12 1796 Oct. 2. Comparative View, Philadelphia.
 13 1796 Oct. Pretensions, Part First.
 14 1796 Nov. Pretensions, Part Second.
 15 1797 Phocion's Examination. Reprint of Nos. 13 and 14.
 16 1806 Numbers of Phocion, Charleston.
 17 1806 American Arguments, London reprint of No. 16.
 18 1815 Speech, Philadelphia, reprint of No. 2.
 19 1832 Comparative View, Washington, reprint of No. 12.
 6 Address, Philadelphia, 1794.
 7 Address, London reprint of No. 6, 1794.
 17 American Arguments, London reprint of No. 16, 1806.
 9 Candid Examination, New York, 1795.
 12 Comparative View, Philadelphia, 1796.
 19 Comparative View, Washington reprint of No. 12, 1832.
 3 Friendship with Great Britain, Edinburgh reprint of No. 2.
 16 Numbers of Phocion, Charleston, 1806.
 10 Oration, July 4, 1796, Charleston.
 May 7. Sa. Salisbury to Charlotte.
 8. Su. Charlotte to Barclay's.
 9. M. Barclay's to Camden.
 10. Tu. Camden to Stateburg, Simpson's.
 11. W. Simpson's to Eutaw's, Jackson's.
 12. Th. Jackson's to P. Smith's, the Elms.
 13. F. The Elms to Charleston.

Waxam Creek, etc. The first is the boundary between the two states, but there is a slip of South Carolina runs northward a considerable distance above it. On the road some good looking plantations, and several fine hills well cultivated. Slept at Barclay's, an indifferent house. The road is now good all the way to Camden, generally level and sandy, a few hills, but not bad: the country about here well known in the history of the war, particularly for the actions of Hanging Rock and Camden: I passed over the spot where both were fought. The road passed over some curious flat rocks of great extent: the land about here, pine barrens and some parts of the road heavy. About nine miles from Camden I saw the traces of the famous battle of Camden, and the marks of balls against the trees. Slept at Camden, a pretty town of about seventy houses and some very good dwellings. On Tuesday breakfasted at Statesburgh,¹ on the high hills of Santee, a delightful situation, commanding a prodigious extent of country. Slept at Simpson's. On Wednesday breakfasted at Eutaw's, slept at Jackson's. Thursday dined at P. Smith's, lay at the "Elms."² Friday morning started on the last stage of my journey, reached home in the afternoon.³

¹ Stateburg, S. C.

² Ralph Izard's estate. In a letter to Jefferson dated "The Elms, South Carolina," April 27, 1784, Izard said, "I am settled upon an agreeable spot, about 18 miles from Charles Town. A plantation long neglected, but pleasantly situated and capable of great improvement. This I am attempting; and my inclination would lead me never to enter again into public life." *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, II. 195.

³ An itinerary of this trip follows:

- April 20. W. Philadelphia to Derby, Wilmington, Newport, Christiana, Elkton.
- 21. Th. Elkton to Charlestown, Harford (Bush Town), Abingdon, Baltimore.
- 22. F. Baltimore to Elkridge, Bladensburg, Georgetown, Federal City.
- 23. Sa. Georgetown to Alexandria and Mount Vernon.
- 24. Su. Mount Vernon.
- 25. M. Mount Vernon to Gunston Hall.
- 26. Tu. Gunston Hall to Colchester, Dumfries, Stafford Court House, Falmouth, Fredericksburg.
- 27. W. Fredericksburg to Bowling Green, Merry Oaks, Richmond.
- 28. Th. Richmond: no entry.
- 29. F. Richmond to Manchester, Hopkins, Col. Meade's.
- 30. Sa. Col. Meade's to Chinkapin Church, Billy George's tavern.
- May 1. Su. Billy George's tavern to Moore's ordinary, Charlotte Court House, Cole's Ferry.
- 2. M. Cole's Ferry to Pridie's.
- 3. Tu. Pridie's to Halifax Old Town, Col. Dix's.
- 4. W. Col. Dix's to Jones's at iron works.
- 5. Th. Jones's at iron works to Salem.
- 6. F. Salem to Salisbury.

- 11 Oration, July 4, 1796, Charleston, second edition.
- 15 Phocion's Examination, 1797. Reprint of Nos. 13 and 14.
- 1 Politicks and Views.
- 13 Pretensions, Part First, October, 1796.
- 14 Pretensions, Part Second, November, 1796.
- 18 Speech, Philadelphia, 1815, reprint of No. 2.
- 8 Speech, December, 1794.
- 2 Speeches, Philadelphia, 1794.
- 4 Speeches, Edinburgh reprint of No. 2, 1794.
- 5 Speeches, London reprint of No. 2, 1794.

I

The / Politicks / And Views / Of a Certain Parrrty, / Displayed.
/ Printed in the Year M,DCC,XCII.

Title, 1 p.; Text, pp. 2-36.

The Boston Athenæum has five copies, one with "G^o Washington" in ink on the title-page; another with "D. Cobbs" in ink on the title-page; another with "Cabot" in ink on the title-page and also in ink the words "said to be written by William Smith of South Carolina," either in the hand of George Cabot (with which I am not familiar) or in that of Josiah Quincy, to whom the volume containing the pamphlet once belonged. In 1877 and again in 1885 Sabin attributed the pamphlet to Hamilton.¹ "The authorship of this pamphlet," wrote P. L. Ford in 1886, "has been referred to Hamilton. It is probably by William L. Smith."² "Its authorship," wrote H. B. Tompkins in 1887, "has been generally attributed to Hamilton, although Ford . . . thinks it was probably written by William L. Smith."³ "This has been sometimes attributed to Alexander Hamilton," wrote Evans in 1914, "but there seems to be good reason for ascribing the authorship to William Loughton Smith, who shared his political views."⁴ That Mr. Smith was the author is made certain by a manuscript note in his own hand on the title-page of a copy which once belonged to him but is now owned by the Charleston Library Society: "By William Smith — 1792." ^{5]}

2

The / Speeches / of / Mr. Smith, of South-Carolina, / delivered in the
/ House of Representatives of the United States, / in January, 1794, on
the subject of certain / Commercial Regulations, / proposed by Mr.

¹ *Dictionary of Books relating to America*, VIII. 28; XV. 249.

² *Bibliotheca Hamiltoniana*, 39.

³ *Bibliotheca Jeffersoniana*, 51-52.

⁴ *American Bibliography*, VIII. 356.

⁵ Miss Mabel L. Webber of the South Carolina Historical Society informs me that the Charleston Library Society owns sixteen bound volumes of pamphlets which formerly belonged to Mr. Smith, having his book-plate and in each volume a manuscript table of contents in his hand (according to Mr. Salley), together with a few manuscript notes also in his hand.

Madison, in the Committee of the Whole, / on the Report of the Secretary of State. / Philadelphia: / M DCC XCIV.

Title, 1 leaf; Resolutions . . . proposed . . . January 3, 1794, pp. [iii]–vi; Speeches, &c., pp. [7]–75; Comparative Footing of the Commerce of the United States with the Dominions of France and Great Britain prior to the pending Revolution of France, folded table at end.¹

3

Friendship with Great Britain / the / True Interest of America. / The / Speech / of / Mr Smith, / of / South Carolina, / delivered in the / House of Representatives / of the / United States, / In January 1794. / On the subject of certain / Commercial Regulations, / proposed by Mr Madison, / in the Committee of the Whole on the Report of / the Secretary of State. / Philadelphia Printed. / Edinburgh: Reprinted for Bell and Bradfute, / J. Simpson and W. Laing. 1794.

Title, 1 leaf; Resolutions . . . proposed . . . January 3, 1794, pp. [1]–3; Mr. Smith's Speech, pp. 4–78; Comparative Footing of the Commerce of the United States with the Dominions of France and Great Britain, prior to the pending Revolution of France, folded table at end.

4

The / Speeches / of / Mr Smith, / of / South Carolina, / delivered in the / House of Representatives / of the / United States, / in January 1794. / On the subject of certain / Commercial Regulations, / proposed by Mr Madison, / in the Committee of the Whole, on the Report of / the Secretary of State. / Philadelphia Printed: / Edin-

¹ See *Annals of Congress*, January 13, 1794, 174–209. Madison's reply on January 14 (*Annals of Congress*, 209–225) was published at New York in 1794 in a pamphlet entitled "*Speech in the House of Representatives*," etc.

On December 31, 1793, Jefferson resigned as Secretary of State and returned to Monticello, whence he wrote Madison on February 15, 1794: "We have been told that mr. Smith's speech and your's also on your propositions have got into Davis's papers, but none of them have reached us." And again on April 13, he wrote to Madison: "I have been particularly gratified by the receipt of the papers containing your's and Smith's discussion of your regulating propositions. . . . I am at no loss to ascribe Smith's speech to it's true father. Every tittle of it is Hamilton's except the introduction. There is scarcely anything there wrote I have not heard from him in our various private tho' official discussions. The very turn of the arguments is the same, and others will see as well as myself that the style is Hamilton's. The sophistry is too fine, too ingenious, even to have been comprehended by Smith, much less devised by him." *Writings* (Ford), vi. 499, 501. Hamilton's draft of the "Outline of Smith's Speech on Madison's Resolutions of January 3, 1794," including the table, is printed in Hamilton's *Works* (Hamilton), v. 80–95; and in Hamilton's *Works* (Lodge), iii. 423–441.

This was the most popular of Mr. Smith's pamphlets, and as late as October 7, 1796, the *South Carolina State Gazette* (Columbia) advertised "For sale, at the Printing-Office, . . . Smith's (of South Carolina) speeches, delivered in the house of representatives of the United States, in January, 1794."

burgh: Reprinted for J. Simpson, Book- / seller, Front of the Royal Exchange. / 1794.

Title, 1 leaf; Resolutions . . . proposed . . . January 3, 1794, pp. [1]-3; Mr. Smith's Speech, pp. 4-78.¹

5

The speeches of Mr. Smith, of South Carolina, delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, in January, 1794, on the subject of certain commercial regulations, proposed by Mr. Madison . . . Philadelphia, printed; London, reprinted, J. Stockdale, 1794.

vi, [7]-75 p. fold. tab.

This I have not seen, and the title and collation are taken from the Library of Congress cards at the Massachusetts State House.

6

An / Address / from / William Smith, / of / South-Carolina, / to his / Constituents. / Philadelphia: Printed in the Year MDCCXCIV.

Title, 1 leaf; Address, pp. [3]-32. Dated at end (p. 32): "Philadelphia, May 1, 1794."

The Boston Athenæum copy formerly belonged to William S. Shaw, having his autograph in ink on the title-page and in his hand the words: "in defence of his opposition to Maddison's resolutions."

7

An / Address / from / William Smith, / of / South-Carolina, / to his / Constituents. / Philadelphia, Printed: / London, Reprinted for J. Debrett, opposite / Burlington-House, Piccadilly. / 1794.

Title, 1 leaf; Address, pp. [3]-28; Books printed for J. Debrett, opposite Burlington-House, Piccadilly, 4 pp.

8

The / Speech / of / Mr. Smith, / of / South Carolina, / In the House of Representatives of the United / States, on the subject of the Reduction / of the Public Debt. / December, 1794.

Title, 1 leaf; Text, pp. [3]-20.

This speech was delivered December 23, 1794: see *Annals of Congress*, pp. 1010-1019.

9

A / Candid Examination / of the / Objections / to the / Treaty / of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, / between the / United States and Great-Britain, / as stated in the / Report of the Committee / appointed by the Citizens of the United States, in / Charleston, South-Carolina. /

¹ The only copy of this pamphlet I have seen (in the Boston Public Library) lacks pp. 73-78 and the folded table at end.

By a Citizen of South-Carolina. / Audi alteram partem. / By a Collision of Sentiments Truth is discovered. / Addressed to the Citizens of South-Carolina. / Charleston: Printed. / New-York: / Re-printed for James Rivington, No. 156 Pearl-street. / 1795.

Half-title, 1 leaf; Title, 1 leaf; A Candid Examination, &c., pp. [3]-43; Half-title, 1 leaf; Postscript, pp. [1]-5.

First half-title reads:

The / Eyes Opened, / or the / Carolinians Convinced, / by an / Honourable and eloquent Representative / in the / Congress of the United States, / in the following / well received and candid Examination / of the / Objections / to His Excellency / Governor Jay's late Treaty with / Great Britain; / and which has been ratified by / President Washington, / at the City of Philadelphia. / New-York: / Printed for, and sold by J. Rivington, No. 156 Pearl-street. / 1795.

Second half-title reads: "Postscript."

The Boston Athenæum has three copies, one having "Cabot" written in ink on the first half-title. The Boston Public Library has two copies, one having "Daniel Sargent junr" written in ink on the first half-title and against lines 5-8 in the same hand the words "William Smith." That Mr. Smith was the author seems a reasonable conclusion from the evidence. I have not found a copy of the original Charleston edition.¹

IO

An / Oration, / delivered in / St. Philip's Church, / before the Inhabitants of / Charleston, South-Carolina, / on the Fourth of July, 1796, / in commemoration of / American Independence. / By Appointment of

¹ On June 24, 1795, the Senate voted to recommend to Washington the ratification of Jay's Treaty, and it was ratified by Washington August 14. The New York edition of the pamphlet was issued after August 18, since the Postscript (evidently added by Rivington) contains extracts from New York papers of that date. On April 30, 1796, the House of Representatives "took up the resolution . . . for carrying into effect the Treaty lately negotiated with Great Britain," and the question was "determined in the affirmative—yeas 51, nays 48." *Annals of Congress*, 1282-1291. It has been stated that "only four from the South voted for the bill." C. W. Sommerville, *Robert Goodloe Harper*, 1899, 10. South Carolina was then represented in the House by Lemuel Benton, Samuel Earle, Wade Hampton, Robert Goodloe Harper, William Smith, and Richard Wynn, of whom all voted nay on the resolution except Mr. Smith and Harper. It would seem, therefore, as if the pamphlet must have been written either by Mr. Smith or by Harper. Though elected as a Democrat, Harper yet approved of Jay's Treaty, and late in 1795 published at Philadelphia a defence of his position entitled: "*An Address from Robert Goodloe Harper, of South Carolina, to his Constituents*," etc. This is dated at the end "Philadelphia, Dec. 17, 1795," and editions were printed in 1796 at Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. So far as I have been able to ascertain, Harper had published nothing on Jay's Treaty earlier than this, and thus by a process of elimination we reach Mr. Smith as the probable author of the *Candid Examination*, etc. (Cf. p. 88, note 4, *infra*.) It should be added, however, that Mr. Smith's collection of pamphlets, now owned by the Charleston Library Society, contains no copy of this tract.

the / American Revolution Society, / and published at the request of that Society, / and also of the / South-Carolina State Society / of / Cincinnati. / By William Smith, / a member of the Revolution Society, / and Representative in the Congress of the / United States. / Printed by W. P. Young, N^o 43, Broad-Street, / Charleston.

Half-title, 1 leaf; Title, 1 leaf; Oration, pp. [1]-40; Errata, p. 40.

The half-title reads: "Smith's Oration." With straight rules above and below.

II

An / Oration, / delivered in / St. Philip's Church, / before the Inhabitants of / Charleston, South-Carolina, / on the Fourth of July, 1796, / in commemoration of / American Independence. / By appointment of the / American Revolution Society, / and published at the request of that Society, / and also of the / South-Carolina State Society of Cincinnati. / By William Smith, / a member of the Revolution Society, / and Representative in the Congress of the / United States. / Second Edition. / Printed by W. P. Young, No. 43, Broad-Street, / Charleston.

Half-title, 1 leaf; Title, 1 leaf; Oration, pp. [1]-40.

The half-title reads: "Smith's Oration. Second Edition." In ornamental oval.¹

12

A / Comparative View / of the / Constitutions / of the / several States with each other, and with that / of the United States: / exhibiting in / Tables / The prominent Features of each Constitution, / and classing together their most important provisions under the / several heads of administration; / with / Notes and Observations. / By William Smith, of South Carolina, L.L.D. / and Member of the Congress of the United States. / Dedicated to the People of the United States. / Philadelphia, /

¹ An advertisement, headed "American Revolution Society," in the *City Gazette* (Charleston) of June 25, 1796, stated that "The Members of this Society will, on the 4th day of July next, . . . meet at Williams's Coffee-House, at 11 o'clock, a.m. when they will be joined by the Society of the Cincinnati, in procession to St. Philip's Church, and attend service. Anthems will be performed suited to the occasion; after which an Oration will be delivered . . . by the honorable William Smith, esq. appointed for that purpose by the Revolution Society." An advertisement of the Cincinnati, printed in the *Columbian Herald* (Charleston) of June 13, mentioned the oration, but did not give the name of the orator. The *City Gazette* of July 2 announced the arrival of "Passengers in the *South Carolina*, captain Garman, from Philadelphia: . . . William Smith, esq." In a letter to Rufus King dated July 23, Mr. Smith said: "I did not leave Philad. till ten days after the adjt. and having a very tedious passage did not arrive here [Charleston] till the 1st inst., not in time to prepare, and scarcely in time to deliver my Oration, a copy of which I send you, with a curious advertisement of the vender, who says that the works which have lately had the greatest run in town, are Paine's *Age of Reason* and Smith's Oration. You will smile at seeing any work of mine associated with Paine's and the heroic actions of the French." *King's Life and Correspondence*, IV. 427.

Printed by John Thompson, and sold by all the Booksellers / in the United States. / 1796.

Title, 1 leaf; Dedication to "Fellow Citizens," 1 leaf; Copyright, 1 leaf; Preliminary Discourse, pp. [1]-4; Tables I-VI, not paged and without signatures; Notes on the Legislative, pp. 9-26; Notes on the Executive, pp. 27-31; Notes on the Judiciary, pp. 32-34.¹ The dedication is dated "Philadelphia, October 2, 1796."²

The copy owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society has written in ink on the title-page the words: "For the Historical Society — Boston From Henry W^m De Saussure." Cf. 1 *Proceedings*, I. 146. One of the two copies owned by the Harvard College Library has written in ink on the inside of the front cover the words: "The Gift of the Author to J. Pickering, 1797, at Lisbon — (and bound at Lisbon)." This was John Pickering (1777-1846), son of Col. Timothy Pickering, then Secretary of State.³

¹ The copyright notice states that "on the twenty-fourth day of January, in the twenty-first year of the Independence of the United States [1797], John Thompson of the said District, hath deposited in this Office the Title of a Book, . . ."

² In some copies the tables are differently folded. An advertisement dated "Aug. 22," printed in *Procupine's Gazette* of August 23, 1797, and succeeding issues, reads in part as follows: "Just published, And for sale by Thomas Dobson, . . . A Comparative View Of the Constitutions of the several states with each other, and with that of the United States: . . . By William Smith, LL.D. Of South Carolina, and Member of Congress of the United States. Price of the fine paper, hot-pressed, one dollar 25-100ths — and of the common paper one dollar."

³ John Pickering accompanied Mr. Smith to Portugal as his secretary: see p. 27, *supra*. In a letter dated Lisbon, September 1, 1798, Pickering wrote: "I am told that at Princeton they study (for information on one branch of politics) a book written by Mr. Smith, the gentleman with whom I live. The author has mademe a present of one. It is a most excellent work; and if you have already any interest in the subject of it, you can get one from Philadelphia. It is entitled 'Comparative View of the Constitutions,' etc. It is a small volume, but deserves the motto of *multum in parvo* as much as any book I know" *Life of John Pickering*, 130.

Mr. Smith also gave copies of the work to Hamilton and to King. "I have received, my dear sir," wrote Hamilton April 5, 1797, "your letter of the 2d of April, (1797,) with your little work accompanying it, which I shall read with the interest I take in the author, the first leisure hour. I have cast my eye over it, and like very much the plan." And again on April 10: "Since my last to you I have perused with great satisfaction your little work on our governments. I like the execution no less than the plan. If my health and leisure should permit, I would make some notes; but you can not depend on it, as I am not only extremely occupied, but in feeble health." Hamilton's *Works* (Lodge), VIII. 459, 461-462. In a letter to King dated April 3, 1797, Mr. Smith wrote: "Our friend [William Vans] Murray sails for Amsterdam shortly; he will do credit to the appointment. I shall entrust to his care a copy of a little work on the Constitution for you, which I have had interleaved to receive those judicious remarks which will I am sure occur to you on perusing it. When this is done, I shall request you to return it to me, in exchange for a copy of a new edition on a more enlarged

13

The / Pretensions of / Thomas Jefferson / to the / Presidency / Examined; / and the / Charges against / John Adams / Refuted. / Addressed to the Citizens of America in general; / and particularly to the / Electors / of the / President. / United States, October 1796.

Title, 1 leaf; Text, pp. [3]-64. Colophon on p. 64: "End of First Part."

A copy in the Harvard College Library has written in pencil on the title-page in an unknown hand the words: "By W^m Smith, of S^o Carolina — Member of Congress — & Minister to Portugal." The copy owned by the New York Historical Society has written on the title-page, in the hand of John Pintard, then Recording Secretary, the words: "N. Y. Historical Society presented by Oliver Wolcott 30th Sept 1813;" and above the date of the imprint the words: "by Oliver Wolcott and William Smith of S. C."

14

The / Pretensions of / Thomas Jefferson / to the / Presidency / Examined; / and the / Charges against / John Adams / Refuted. / Addressed to the Citizens of America in general, / and particularly to the / Electors / of the / President. / Part the Second. / United States, November 1796.

Title, 1 leaf; The Pretensions of Thomas Jefferson, &c., pp. [3]-39; Appendix, pp. 39-42.

The text fills 31 lines on p. 39, after which comes the word "Finis." Then follows "Appendix. / Vindication of Mr. Adams's / Defence of the / American Constitutions," pp. 39-42, signed "Union" and dated "Eastern Shore, Maryland, / 26th Oct. 1796."¹

The volume in which the Boston Athenæum copy is bound belonged to William S. Shaw, having his autograph on the first fly-leaf and on the second fly-leaf a list of the contents in the same hand, which says: "5 Phocion — by W^m Smith of South Carolina."

These articles by "Phocion" were originally printed in the *Gazette of the United States* (Philadelphia), beginning October 14 and ending November 24, 1796. The First Part was advertised as "This Day Is

& useful plan." *King's Life and Correspondence*, iv. 167. The contemplated enlarged edition was never published by Mr. Smith, his early transference to Europe probably interfering with the revision.

¹ This *Short Vindication of Mr. Adams's 'Defence of American Constitutions,'* signed "Union," was printed in the *Gazette of the United States* of November 5, 1796, p. 2, where it is preceded by this note: "The following judicious and candid analysis of 'A Defence of the American Constitutions, by John Adams,' is earnestly recommended to the consideration of the Electors, generally." Miss Webber informs me that in his copy of this pamphlet, now owned by the Charleston Library Society, Mr. Smith has written under the Appendix this note: "by William Vans Murray, now Min. Res. in Holld." This is quite improbable as no other reference to such an authorship has been found.

Published" in the same paper of November 5th, p. 3/3. They were written (so the first one states) in reply to "a writer under the signature of Hampden, in the Richmond paper of" October 1st. Their authorship is in doubt. The only passage which throws any light on the matter is found on pp. 30-31 of the First Part, where the author quotes Hampden as saying: "'I believe,' he adds, 'no member of congress will contradict this fact.'" Whereupon the author remarks: "Without being a member of congress, I will undertake to contradict this fact, and to prove that Hampden's assertion is as false, as his reasoning thereon is absurd." If the author was not a Member of Congress, then he could not have been Mr. Smith; but this is one of those statements which writers frequently make when they wish to conceal their identity. Besides, if Oliver Wolcott (who was then Secretary of State) was part author of the articles, then the above passage was presumably written by him. Even while the articles were appearing in the *Gazette of the United States*, Mr. Smith was pointed at as their author.¹ In 1801, under the heading "Jefferson's

¹ "Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Philadelphia, October 25. 'Except the late news from Europe we have nothing new here. Our campaign for the chusing electors of a President has commenced and each party is straining every nerve to get in their favorites. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams are to be opposed to each other. It is generally thought that electors favorable to the former will be chosen in this state, notwithstanding the many attempts which have been made to injure his publick character in the daily papers. Amongst these attacks on his character, there are none which have been read with more disgust than some pieces under the signature of *Phocion*, and which you will find in the *Gazette of the United States*, sent you here with. Even the enemies of Mr. Jefferson speak of them as discreditable to their author and injurious to the cause they were meant to assist. It is said that they are the production of a member from your state. I can hardly believe it, as, from his general character, I thought he could not descend to scatter such abuse, for it can be called by no other name, on a character who at least has always shewn himself a decided friend of his country, and at an early day in our revolution was noted for his manly opposition to the unjust claims of Great-Britain.'" *City Gazette*, Charleston, November 9, 1796.

A letter signed "Z," written "For the City Gazette," reads in part as follows: "A Member of Congress from South Carolina, who has on all occasions been lavish of his abuse of Mr. Jefferson, apprehending that if he shall be elected President he will have little chance of participating of the loaves and fishes, has attacked him with much asperity under the signature of *Phocion*." *City Gazette*, November 17, 1796.

A communication "From a Correspondent" reads as follows: "If there were any doubts concerning who is the author, or rather the compiler of the abusive and malignant pieces which have lately appeared in the *Columbian Herald*, under the signature of *Phocion*, they would vanish, or at least be very much lessened, on reading in a late *Gazette of the United States*, printed in Philadelphia, where the pieces in question were first published, that 'it is perfectly certain, that the letters of *Phocion* contain entire passages of the essays of *Catullus* (published in 1792) without the usual inverted commas, or any other mark of quotation.' Who does not know the person that committed a similar plagiarism upon the *Federalist*, in defending the treaty here in the summer of 1795?" *City Gazette*, December 17, 1796. For these extracts I am indebted to Miss Webber.

The allusion in the third passage to a pamphlet by "Catullus" published in

Character," William Cobbett quoted from the pamphlet in question various extracts, which he thus introduced:

"This man's character has been well illustrated by Mr. William Smith, now (in 1801) American Ambassador in Portugal. A writer under the signature of Hampden, . . . after asserting the exclusive right of Virginia to fill the office of President, called the attention of that state to the illustrious Thomas Jefferson, as the fittest character in the Union to fill the President's chair, and proceeded to enumerate the various pretensions of that gentleman. — In answer to Hampden, Mr. Smith published a pamphlet, from which the following extracts are made."

After quoting the extracts, Cobbett concluded:

"Such was the character and conduct of the man, who is now President of the United States. Let it be remembered, that it is not *I*, it is not any Royalist that says this; but a Republican, an American, a gentleman who was long a member of Congress, and who is now an Ambassador."¹

In a work published in 1802 Cobbett again quoted the same passages, which he said were "Extracted from the Letters of Phocion, written by William Smith, Esq. of South Carolina, long a member of Congress, and lately American Minister to the Court of Portugal."² In 1859 the pamphlet was attributed to Mr. Smith and Oliver Wolcott,³ and in 1885 to the same persons.⁴ "This tract," wrote H. B. Tompkins in 1887, "has been attributed to Noah Webster. It was written, however, by William L. Smith of South Carolina (Phocian)."⁵ In 1914 R. H. Johnston attributed the pamphlet to Mr. Smith.⁶ With the remark

1792 eludes me. The allusion to "the Federalist" is probably to the celebrated essays written by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay in 1787-1788, but may be to one of the numerous articles which were written on Jay's Treaty in 1795. Thus a series of letters under the title "Federalist" and signed "A Federalist," appeared in the *Columbian Centinel* of July 22, 25, 29, August 1, 8, 12, 15, and 26, 1795, and was reprinted the same year by Mathew Carey in his *American Remembrancer*, II. 61-72, 95-103, 228-265. The final allusion to "defending the treaty here in the summer of 1795" must be a reference to *A Candid Examination*, etc., which is No. 9 in my list of Mr. Smith's writings.

¹ *Porcupine's Works*, London, May, 1801, XII. 192-217.

² *Cobbett's Annual Register*, London, 1802, I. 961-972.

³ *Catalogue of Printed Books in the New York Historical Society*, 1859, 552, 645.

⁴ Sabin, xv. 457. It is also attributed to Smith and Wolcott in the Library of Congress cards.

⁵ *Bibliotheca Jeffersoniana*, p. 153. Mr. Tompkins does not say who attributed the pamphlet to Noah Webster, but adds: "Callender, in the *American Annual Register, or Historical Memoirs of the United States for the year 1796*, at pages 205 *et seq.*, defends Jefferson against Phocian's attacks." Callender (pp. 205-212) says nothing about the authorship, but in the next paragraph (p. 212) returns to Noah Webster, whom he had mentioned on an earlier page — thus, perhaps, giving the erroneous impression that he attributed the pamphlet to Webster.

⁶ *A Contribution to a Bibliography of Thomas Jefferson*, p. 26, in *Jefferson's Writings* (Jefferson Memorial Association edition, 1903), xx.

that neither of the two copies of the pamphlet which once belonged to Mr. Smith and are now in the Charleston Library Society contains any note as to the identity of the writer, the authorship must be left undetermined.¹

15

Phocion's Examination of the Pretensions of Thomas Jefferson and his Refutation of the Charges against John Adams.

This I have not seen, the title being taken from an advertisement in *Porcupine's Gazette* (Philadelphia) of July 25, 1797, and succeeding issues. The title is preceded by the words "Published Complete, And for sale by William Cobbett, opposite Christ Church," and is followed by a longish statement which reads in part as follows: "The above most interesting work contains a satisfactory refutation of the absurd charges of the Jacobins against the President of the United States, with a correct analysis and vindication of his defence of the American constitutions. . . . These papers were originally published with a reference to the late important election of president, but the valuable information they contain must recommend them at all times to the attentive perusal of American citizens. . . ." Presumably the work is merely a reprint of Nos. 13 and 14.

¹ The Pretensions, etc., was replied to as follows:

The / Federalist: / containing / some Strictures / upon a pamphlet, entitled, / "The Pretensions of Thomas Jefferson to the Presi- / "dency, examined, and the Charges against / "John Adams refuted." / Which pamphlet was first published in the Gazette / of the United States, in a series of Essays, / under the signature of / "Phocion." / Philadelphia: / Re-published from the Gazette of the United States, / by Mathew Carey, No. 118, Market-Street. / November 1796.

Title, 1 leaf; Remark, 1 leaf; The Federalist, &c., pp. [5]-48.

Contains Nos. I-VIII, each signed "A Federalist." Colophon on p. 48 reads: "End of the First Part."

The / Federalist: / containing / some Strictures / upon a pamphlet, entitled, / "The Pretension of Thomas Jefferson to the Presi- / "dency, examined, and the Charges against / "John Adams refuted." / Which pamphlet was first published in the Gazette / of the United States, in a series of Essays, / under the signature of / "Phocion." / Part the Second. / Philadelphia: / Re-published from the Gazette of the United States, / and the New World, / by Mathew Carey, No. 118, Market-Street. / November 1796.

Title, 1 leaf; The Federalist, &c., pp. [3]-27.

Contains Nos. IX-XII.

These articles by "A Federalist" were originally printed in the *Gazette of the United States* of November 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 24, 25, 29, 30, when they suddenly ceased. My guess is that the remainder of the series, judging from the title-page of the Second Part, appeared in the *New World*, a Philadelphia publication which I have not seen — not in "the *New York World*," as R. H. Johnston has it (A Contribution to the Bibliography of Thomas Jefferson, p. 26). Hints as to their author are given in the *Gazette of the United States* of November 17, 1796.

16

The Numbers / of / Phocion, / which were originally published / in the / Charleston Courier, / in 1806, / on the Subject of / Neutral Rights. / Revised and Corrected. / Charleston, S. C. / Printed at the Courier Office, / No. 1, Broad-Street.

Title, 1 leaf; Introduction, pp. [3]-4; Phocion, pp. [5]-64; Appendix, pp. [65]-70.

The Boston Athenæum has two copies, one having "Ben: Merrill" written in ink on the title-page and on p. [3] in the same hand the words "Hon: William Smith of South Carolina is the reputed Author of these Letters."¹ Mr. Smith's own volume of pamphlets, now owned by the Charleston Library Society, has this note in his hand: "Phocion, on Neutral Rights, Amer. Ed."

These articles were first printed in the *Charleston Courier*, beginning February 18 and ending May 31, 1806. In the issue of May 31st, p. 3/4, was advertised "Proposals for publishing by subscription The Numbers of Phocion." On September 26, at a meeting of the Anthology Society, "M^r [W. S.] Shaw read M^r Merrill's review of 'Phocion' which was accepted;"² and the review duly appeared in the *Monthly Anthology* for September, ending as follows:

"The reputed author of this pamphlet is William Smith of South Carolina, an eloquent and honourable gentleman, who adorns his country, and who is one of those of whom Bolingbroke says, that 'if they retire from the world, their splendour accompanies them, and enlightens even the obscurity of their retreat.'"³

17

American Arguments / for / British Rights; / being / a Republication / of / The Celebrated Letters of Phocion, / on the subject of / Neutral Trade. / Printed at Charlestown, South Carolina; / Reprinted for J. Butterworth, Fleet Street, London, / by G. Auld, Greville-Street. / 1806.

Title, 1 leaf; Preface, by the English Editor, pp. [iii]-xii; Text, pp. [1]-68; Appendix, pp. [69]-74.

The preface reads in part as follows:

"The ensuing Letters were first published in a newspaper of South Carolina, but attracted so much notice, that they were soon afterward republished in a pamphlet, . . .

'As the able and intelligent writer used the signature of PHOCION, it has not been thought proper to put his name in the title-page; but he has not affected to disavow or conceal his being the Author of these Papers; and it may therefore, without scruple, be mentioned, that America and

¹ Benjamin Merrill was born at Conway, N. H., in 1784, graduated at Harvard College in 1804, practised law at Salem, Mass., and died in 1847: see *Proceedings*, II. 390-392.

² *The Anthology Society* (1910), 89: cf. pp. 301, 321.

³ *Monthly Anthology*, III. 494-495.

Europe are indebted to the Honourable WILLIAM L. SMITH, a native of South Carolina, late one of the Representatives of that State in the General Congress, and Ambassador from the United States to the Court of Portugal' " (p. iii).

16/17/ Sabin attributed Nos. 15 and 16 to Hamilton, an error not easily accounted for since Hamilton was killed July 12, 1804.¹ Henry Stevens in 1885,² and P. L. Ford in 1886,³ correctly assigned them to Mr. Smith.

18

Select / American Speeches, / Forensic and Parliamentary, / with / Prefatory Remarks: / being / a Sequel to Dr. Chapman's 'Select Speeches.' / By S. C. Carpenter, Esq. / Vol. I. / Philadelphia: / Printed for and published by J. W. Campbell. / William Fry, Printer. / 1815.

The "Speech of William L. Smith, on Mr. Madison's Resolutions" — that is, Mr. Smith's speech delivered January 13, 1794 — is printed on pp. 351-417, with prefatory remarks on pp. 346-350.

19

A / comparative view / of the / constitutions / of the / several States with each other, and with that / of the / United States; / presenting the most prominent features of each constitution. / By William L. Smith, L.L.D. / formerly a member of Congress from South Carolina. / Revised and extended / by E. S. Davis, / of South Carolina. / City of Washington: / Published by Thompson and Homans. / 1832.

O., pp. 135.

This I have not seen, the title and collation being taken from Mr. Salley's article.⁴

Dictionary / ¹ *Monthly Anthology*, I. 132, VIII. 225.

² Stevens's *Historical Nuggets*, No. 3262, III. 78-80.

³ *Bibliotheca Hamiltoniana*.

⁴ In 1795 Thomas Greenleaf published at New York *Examination of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation between the United States and Great Britain. In Several Numbers*: By Cato. In his *Bibliotheca Hamiltoniana* (p. 47), P. L. Ford says that "The authorship of this pamphlet has been ascribed to Hamilton, and to William Smith," but states that it was by Robert R. Livingston.



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